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NEWS FROM THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

FEBRUARY 25, 1988

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT ROH TAE WOO

My sixty million compatriots, President Yun Po Sun and President Choi Kyu Ha, both of whom have been so instrumental in developing constitutional government, President Chung Doo Hwan, who has set a historic precedent of a peaceful change of administration, congratulatory envoys, distinguished guests:

Today, we gather in front of this sacred Hall of the People to proclaim a new beginning, an era of hope which will see Korea, once a peripheral country in east Asia, take a central position in the international community.

As I assume the presidency 40 years after a democratic government was first established in this land, there is a strong wind of change blowing over the country. Nevertheless, I think we should pause to remember our ancestors who struggled constantly to shape the nation. With an indomitable spirit of independence, they created our illustrious culture and maintained our national integrity uninterrupted, overcoming numerous foreign invasions and other ordeals. We should emulate their great spirit.

I think we should also pay tribute to those persons whose hands show the marks of hard work in the face of adversity. We grew up in a world of poverty and war, and our hands were empty. However, with our empty hands, we toiled hard with enthusiasm and single-minded determination to improve our lot. As a result, this country has emerged as a dynamic, newly industrializing nation. It has grown into a full-fledged democracy with the start of a tradition of peaceful changes of government.



We have thus proved to be a truly great people. Korea's extraordinary inherent capabilities are an inexhaustible source of encouragement for all of us who are endeavoring to propel the country into the ranks of the advanced democratic countries before the 20th century is over. As I take on the challenge of leading the nation toward that goal, I am profoundly grateful to all those whose hard work has made Korea what it is today.

My fellow citizens, the Korean people have faced numerous challenges and have triumphed over all of them with courage and tenacity. Now we have a new challenge: to create a vibrant era of national self-esteem. I hereby solemnly declare before the nation that just such an era has opened.

My fellow citizens, we can do it and we must. We must successfully meet that challenge by reforming ourselves. A bird must first break out of its egg by itself before it can learn to fly. Now is the time for us, too, to break out of our shell of old habits and, with the creative enthusiasm that characterized the pioneers who made something out of nothing, create a unified, powerful and self-respecting nation by enabling all citizens to enjoy democratic rights and privileges, as well as prosperity. It is certainly a time for change, renovation and quantum leaps - a time for dynamic progress.

Accordingly, the time has come to put an end to excessive internal squabbling. The past can undoubtedly be put to good use as a mirror by which to examine ourselves, but it should not be a shackle to indefinitely hamper our progress toward a bright future. The great democratic choice made by the people last December eliminated the sources of strife that had built up over the past 40 years. Let us here and now bury regional antagonism, partisan and factional egoism and personal resentment. If all of us yield a little in the spirit of reconciliation and forgive each other and bury the residue of hatred, our children will be able to enjoy the abundant fruit of democracy and welfare.

Fellow citizens, from this moment on we will sail full steam ahead toward a land of hope brimming with freedom and happiness. We have a new chart of democracy and a new compass of national reconciliation that you, my fellow countrymen, examined and agreed to use when you elected me president.

With the launching of the new republic, we will sail steadfastly toward democracy. This is not at all because democracy is the buzzword today but because democracy represents just values that give dignity and worth to our lives. Only a democratic society will guarantee freedom, dignity and full participation.

The day when freedom and human rights could be slighted in the name of economic growth and national security has ended. The day when repressive force and torture in secret chambers were tolerated is over. At the same time, the day when confusion was irresponsibly created on the pretext of freedom and participation must also come to an end. We will have an era of mature democracy when human rights are inviolable and freedom with responsibility prevails so that both economic development and national security are assured.

We are determined to create a society in which honest and hard working people have nothing to fear and can live dignified and productive lives. We will also create a democratic politic, in which all citizens can creatively participate in national development as the true masters of the nation.

With the new constitution incorporating the will of the people now going into effect, I declare that the new administration will be a government of the people. It will open an era of democracy in which each citizen can reach his full potential. It will help make every segment of our diversified pluralistic society free and dynamic and able to exert its inherent rights to the greatest possible extent.

The people want an honest and ethical government. I intend to give them one. All leaders, including myself, will be honest and truthful. Promises to the people will be kept



without fail.

The cheers of support I heard in the recent campaign have given me strength and the criticisms have been good medicine. I will listen to the views of those who did not vote for me and will reflect them in government policies without fail. I will not disregard their criticisms by any means. In this spirit, I earnestly appeal to the opposition parties and others who opposed me. With a shared concern for the affairs of state, let us start a dialogue and with a spirit of cooperation, let us work together to make democracy work, to unify the nation and to bring prosperity to everyone.

Fellow citizens, our goal is national reconciliation. The history of development since the '70s teaches the grim lesson that no matter how high or sustained economic growth may be, it alone can not ensure that we will attain our ideal of a harmonious, balanced and happy society. Of course, high growth has raised our living standard and transformed the agriculture-dominated traditional Korean society into a pluralistic industrial one.

At the same time, this has created obstacles all along our path. Growing disparities among social strata and among geographical regions have bred strife and schism, seriously undermining national cohesion. Unless this problem is effectively addressed, our endeavors to build a democracy ensuring the welfare of all may be frustrated. Accordingly, all of us want reconciliation warm enough to melt the ice of conflict and divisiveness.

The time has come for the government and all segments of society to strive in concert to achieve a just and fair distribution of income so that every citizen can share the fruits of growth. I will see that no one will be disadvantaged or, on the other hand, receive unjustifiable favors because of birthplace, sex or political persuasion.



Individuals who have not gotten a fair share because of the emphasis on the development of the nation as a whole will no longer be sacrificed. Efforts will be made to see that the sick are treated and the poor and weak are given aid and support. The creative initiative of businessmen and the principle of free enterprise will be further encouraged, while the rights and interests of farmers, fishermen, workers and small and medium merchants and industrialists will be promoted to the maximum extent.

Everything possible will be done to provide the young, who will shoulder the future of the nation, with the best possible education. Meticulous efforts will be made to foster the ideals and dreams of young people and to shape a progressive society that constantly reforms and renews itself. Since the new era that we are going to create will, before long, have to be turned over to the care of the next generation, their dreams and passions will be made an invaluable stimulus for progress. We will energetically promote academic studies, culture and the arts so that there will be a cultural renaissance to match our economic miracle. Thus all citizens will have access to rich cultural experiences.

All citizens will be encouraged to make life better by trying to understand and help their neighbors. My administration will resolutely reject any form of privilege, irregularities and corruption that obstructs social justice and deepens conflict. I intend to stamp out violence, property speculation and inflation. The era of great ordinary people will feature a society in which unjust accumulation or concentration of wealth is done away with and in which everyone profits by honest work and can thus plan for the future with hope. We must now open a great era for ordinary people through democratic reforms and national reconciliation. However, national reconciliation cannot be achieved by government policies alone: It must grow in the heart of every citizen. Accordingly, I ask my fellow citizens not to leave the task of national reconciliation in the hands of the government alone. Let us all reflect on ourselves and approach the issue from a realization that it must be first planted in the heart of each of us.



Those who are strong must help the weak. Those who have should show self-restraint and magnanimity toward those who have less.

Fellow citizens, the Seoul Olympics which will be a grand event for all Koreans and a festival of peace for all the five billion people on earth is fast approaching. On this occasion when Korea will burst on the world scene, there should not be any family squabbles. Let us make concerted efforts with one mind to make the Seoul Olympics be long remembered by the inhabitants of the global community as the most successful.

On the other hand, I want to emphasize that the greatest historic significance of the Seoul Olympics is that it will bring the day of unification closer. The sonorous chorus of reconciliation which will emanate from Seoul when the East and West meet together for the first time in 12 years will be a signal to the entire world that an era of unification is finally opening on the Korean Peninsula.

In response to that great chorus, the Republic of Korea will intensify its diplomatic efforts to promote international peace and cooperation with all nations in the world. While further consolidating ties with Japan, the United States and other western countries, we will further cultivate friendships with the third world. We will broaden the channel of international cooperation with the continental countries with which we have had no exchanges with the aim of pursuing a vigorous northern diplomacy. Improved relations with countries with ideologies and social systems different from ours will contribute to stability, peace and common prosperity in east Asia. Such a northward diplomacy should also lead to the gateway of unification. Here I appeal to my fellow countrymen who yearn for an early end to the territorial division. Unification is a goal which we cannot forget even in our sleep. We cannot be optimistic about attaining it but we need not be pessimistic, either. We should only do our best to reach it. Coincidentally, our national self-esteem has grown much stronger. It is going to be the major driving force behind our endeavors to achieve unification as well as eminence in the world. We must nurture our democratic capability on the strength of national self-esteem, so that we can go through



the gateway of unification while strengthening national security.

We must keep in mind the objective of the lesson, that opportunity comes first not to those who wait for it, but to those who are well prepared to grab it. If only I can perceive a path to peace and reunification on the Korean Peninsula, I am prepared to go any place on earth for a sincere dialogue with anyone.

I propose to North Korea: that they discard the wild dream of making the free citizens of this land, who have internalized democratic values, accept their doctrinaire ideology that has been rejected even by other communist countries: and that they accept that dialogue, not violence, is the most direct short cut to ending division and bringing about unification.

I reaffirm that the door to dialogue will always be open. In keeping with our new national self-esteem, let us have a dialogue. Let us coexist peacefully and on that basis cooperate so that spring can come to the demilitarized zone. In that way, let us begin to pave the way for unification together.

I would like to say this to other nations interested in Korean unification: fundamentally, South and North Korea - the parties immediately involved - will work to resolve the Korean question peacefully through democratic means. However, we will welcome to Seoul any messenger of peace and unification from any place. We will not give special favors to anyone and will not fear anyone either.

Fellow citizens, the 20th century began for us with suffering and frustration but as it comes to an end, we have the wherewithal to overcome anything. The vision of a unified Korea looming just beyond the horizon of the 20th century is beckoning us. When our soaring capabilities and self-esteem are harnessed into a burst of incandescent energy, Korea will certainly emerge as a brilliant young giant in the world and will be a leader in



the Asian-Pacific age. But let us not forget how many patriotic ancestors and compatriots have had to sacrifice themselves and toil hard so that we could have this excellent opportunity.

An era of ordinary people has arrived. From now on, everyone, not just a single person, will have a say in what is good for the country. This will be an era during which cooperation among many people with old-fashioned common sense will be more important than the outstanding talents of a few. It will also be an era in which national development will directly translate into freedom, affluence and well-being for all individual citizens.

Fellow citizens, today, I am standing on this grand platform at the behest of all of you, my fellow countrymen, as it was raised by you, it does not separate me from you. Bearing that fact in mind, today I vow to be a President who shares your heartbeats and thoughts.

I do not want to be a President who pushes his fellow countrymen around. But I will not be one who is pushed around by mobs either. The kind of President that I truly want to be is one who rubs shoulders with his fellow citizens and shares their dreams and pains.

We are now lined up on the starting line of democracy. Having built this glorious platform together, all of us should take energetic forward strides together with courage, drive and confidence in the future.

Let us march toward "a land of hope brimming with liberty, equality, peace and happiness", to quote the words of a well-loved song.

My fellow citizens, let us march together. Thank you.



## INTERNATIONAL

# South Korean Tensions Put U.S. to Test

## President, Foes Show Little Penchant for Compromise

By FREDERICK KEMPE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SEOUL, South Korea—Morning rush-hour traffic is backed up behind a Han River bridge, where a young South Korean is threatening a suicidal leap as an act of political protest.

A spokesman for opposition leader Kim Young Sam waits impatiently in his car. He understands only too well the anger of political dissidents—but worries that their emotions are pushing some of them to extreme actions.

"People are doing more extreme things. They are growing more frustrated," he says. "This happens too often nowadays." In the end, the police coax the youth into jumping into a net and take him away.

Political tensions in South Korea are building as Seoul confronts decisions that could be critical to its stability. President Chun Doo Hwan, a general who seized power under martial law in 1980, has announced plans to step down next February, raising the possibility of the country's first peaceful transition of power in 40 years. But talks on constitutional changes to determine how Mr. Chun's successor will be chosen have broken down.

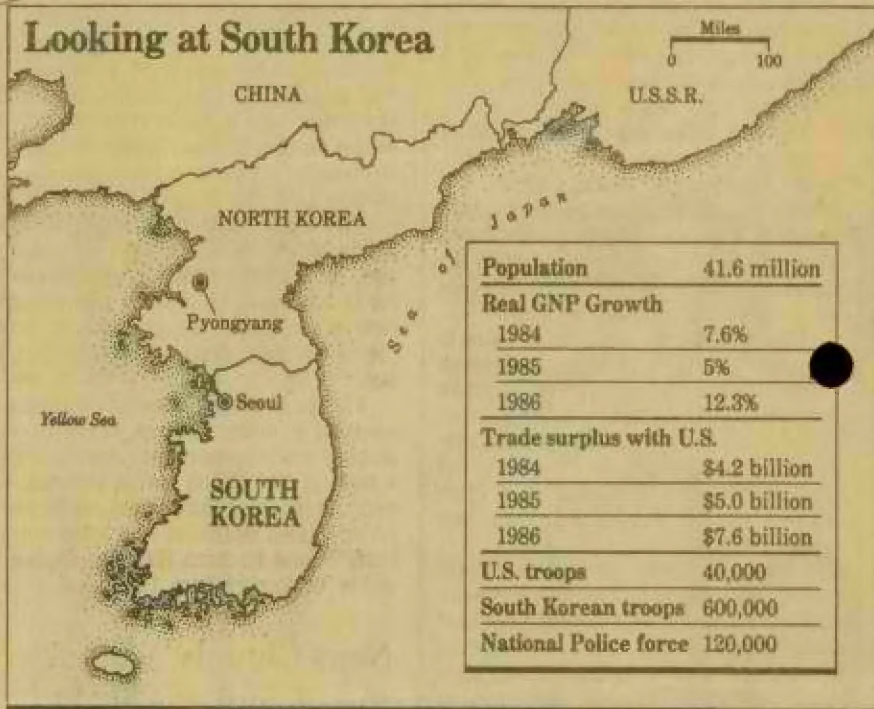
If the government and opposition don't compromise by this summer, many U.S. officials fear unrest could force the authoritarian regime to suppress any move toward democracy. Although 40,000 U.S. troops help protect Seoul from North Korea, American calls for moderation and compromise have thus far been largely shunned by both the government and the opposition.

### Turning Point

"The year 1987 might well be the most critical in the history of South Korea since the end of the Korean War," says Rep. Stephen Solarz (D., N.Y.), chairman of the House Asian and Pacific Affairs subcommittee. "If they can get a national consensus on how to conduct the next elections, it can pave the way for a peaceful and prosperous future. If they don't reach agreement—and it looks more and more problematic—it could pave the way for the kind of confrontations and chaos that would lead to widespread instability and threaten the future of the nation."

The U.S. is pressing the government and the opposition to give ground. Washington wants to ensure that the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul will be a showcase

### Looking at South Korea



for U.S.-inspired political liberalization and economic success, not an embarrassing display of repression.

In February, Assistant Secretary of State Gaston Sigur gave the toughest U.S. advice yet to Seoul. He called for a "more open and legitimate system," said the military should distance itself from civilian politics and even suggested that President Chun should stay far from the political scene once he resigns, rather than wielding power in the background.

South Korea is one of the most difficult management problems facing the Reagan administration. Washington, resented and wooed by both sides, is trying to steer a middle course in a nation whose people are both stubborn and proud. It is seeking to convince President Chun's military-backed government that more democracy, not repression, would ensure stability.

At the same time, the U.S. is privately urging opposition leaders Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung to temper their aim of moving immediately to full democracy. A senior U.S. official says the military isn't ready to cede power and the opposition "isn't mature enough yet" to run the country.

Two other issues are complicating rela-

tions between Washington and Seoul. The U.S. wants South Korea to open its markets more and allow its currency to appreciate to narrow its \$7.6 billion trade surplus with the U.S. South Koreans argue that this could disrupt economic growth and prompt political instability.

The U.S. also wants the South Koreans to test North Korea's apparent desire to break its isolation from the outside world. The South Koreans have coolly rejected recent offers for bilateral negotiations, arguing that Pyongyang aims only to foment domestic unrest. The U.S. has sent supportive messages through Beijing and allowed its diplomats once again to talk to North Korean counterparts.

To push Seoul toward political liberalization, Ambassador James Lilley, who took over this year, has broken with the approach of his predecessor by meeting with opposition leaders and withholding previously unequivocal endorsement of Korean policies. However, Kim Young Sam, the opposition leader, complained that Secretary of State George Shultz decided during his visit here last month that "it was more important to visit the site of the Olympics than support democracy through visiting opposition leaders."

The U.S. also is taking steps to combat increased anti-Americanism, especially among students. Congress will soon vote a resolution expressing support for greater democracy, but the measure stops short of endorsing the opposition. "There's a lot more we should be doing to help the people of South Korea struggle for democracy," says Rep. Edward F. Feighan (D., Ohio), who was beaten by Korean police when he accompanied opposition leader Kim Dae Jung home from exile two years ago. "I think we should clearly indicate that the Chun government's human-rights record could lead to loss of economic benefits or even harsher economic sanctions."

The heart of the political conflict is how the next Korean leader will be elected. The government wants a parliamentary system, which the opposition charges it will continue to manipulate to prolong its power. The opposition wants a direct presidential election system, confident it could copy the "people's power" success of the Philippines because of the popularity of its leading figures, Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung. The latter has promised not to run if the government endorses this system.

### A Middle Ground

U.S. officials privately back a plan proposed by the official head of the parliamentary opposition, Lee Min Woo. It would accept continuation of the parliamentary system if the government takes such measures as restoring political freedoms, releasing political prisoners and allowing more local autonomy.

The two more popular opposition leaders reject this plan, refusing to negotiate freedoms they say the constitution guarantees. They resent U.S. support for a middle-ground solution. "We were very much encouraged that the American government did a good job to support democracy in the Philippines, and we wonder why they don't do so here," says Kim Dae Jung.

The military influence in South Korea won't be easy to alter after 37 years of military alert against North Korea since the outbreak of the Korean War. President Chun has filled the government with military colleagues; some U.S. analysts say the U.S. military in Korea doesn't convey the importance of democracy to its Korean counterparts.

Many South Koreans, particularly students, believe the U.S. has allowed itself to become too closely tied to the military. "America talks a lot about democracy," says a 23-year-old student at the Catholic Sogang University in Seoul. "But without U.S. support for its junta, the military dictatorship that rules Korea would fall overnight."

Professors at Sogang University say student radicalism is growing more extreme, and that even the large bulk of less radical students is increasingly expressing discontent.

"We are now engaged in a game of political brinksmanship," says Hong Choo Hyun, a prominent member of parliament, referring to efforts to resolve political differences over the constitution. "If we can't reach agreement it will be viewed as a failure of the entire political system. It will be viewed as a sign of instability. It would be a dangerous situation."



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## REPUBLIC OF KOREA

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No. 2/1987

January 12, 1987

### PRESS RELEASE

#### NEW YEAR POLICY STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT CHUN DOO HWAN

(The following is an unofficial translation.)

My fellow countrymen,

I consider it of great significance to have this opportunity to explain to you the tasks and directions of the national Administration in the new year which is destined to be a major turning point in our history. This is especially true because we have just bid farewell to a year during which we have enjoyed various achievements of which we can be proud and have done so in the face of incessant domestic and international challenges.

In beginning the year in which my seven-year term of office is to be concluded, I am overcome by a deeper mood of reflection than ever before. In view of the fact that the conclusion of a thing is even more important than its beginning, I renew my determination and readiness to dedicate my body and soul during the remainder of my tenure to the accomplishment of the national tasks at hand. At the same time, I want to ask all my fellow citizens to cooperate by participating even more positively in those tasks.



My fellow countrymen,

During 1986 which has just passed, we pooled our determination and strength to erect an impressive milestone in Korean history. We successfully staged the Asian Games-the first of its kind ever to be held in this land that has impressed the world as an international trouble spot. In that way, we elevated the status of our homeland to the extent that it has been able to help promote the unity and harmony of the three billion Asians.

During the Games, the national vitality of the Republic and the capabilities of the Korean people were fully demonstrated through the prowess of our young men and women, the flawless management by our athletic officials and the maturity of our citizens. By rising to the occasion in concert, we forged a strong sense of national community, increased confidence in ourselves and rediscovered our true worth and future possibilities. We thus experienced a profound excitement the likes of which had not been known to the Korean people in their long past. This, I believe, will go down for ever as a great feat in Korean history.

We also succeeded in turning a veritable surplus in the nation's balance of payments for the first time since the Republic was founded in 1948. The nation has thus begun to reduce by large margins its foreign debt that is a burden on the entire people. At the same time, we achieved a remarkable record in national savings, which was so high as to outrun the rate of investments. We are thus consolidating the foundation for self-sustained growth - a long-cherished national goal.

Furthermore, with the help of a bumper harvest for the sixth consecutive year, we managed to achieve continuing price stability and rapid economic growth all at the same time. Thereby, we have built a sturdy springboard from which to leap into the forefront of development.

The year that has just passed was a landmark year during which we reaped many rewards and further accelerated our progress into the ranks of the advanced nations. However, those rewards are not the result of efforts during one single year alone. They can be more properly regarded as the ripening harvest from the tree of the Fifth Republic which we have been nurturing with devotion for the past six years.

It may be recalled that in my first new year policy statement six years ago, I called upon the entire nation to join me in pledging to share in sacrifices and to unite our strength with the goal of accomplishing a second take-off by all means. Indeed, we began the 1980s in the face of near national bankruptcy resulting from extreme social confusion combined with a faltering economy characterized by negative growth, wild chronic inflation and mounting international deficits.

In the course of trying to dispel the national crisis during those days, I was unexpectedly entrusted with a momentous Presidential responsibility. Ever since, I have been endeavoring to discharge my duties, always keeping in mind the dictates of the times and the nation's future, rather than seeking personal glory or quick popularity.

Today, as I think of the achievements and rewards that have been gained by working hard together with all my fellow countrymen over the past six years, I have come to a new conviction that if we set a goal and work toward it in unity, we can accomplish anything. There is nothing impossible for us. I feel a paramount sense of honor and happiness in the fact that in spite of my many shortcomings, I have been able to shape, as the Chief Executive, together with a great people, a new era featuring ever increasing national vitality and vibrance. I want to express my heartfelt gratitude and appreciation for your unsparing cooperation.

My fellow citizens,

We are now at a historic crossroads: This is the crucial stage at which it is going to be decided whether we will make the most of our accumulated developmental resources and will finally step onto the bright path to democracy and prosperity and further into the ranks of the advanced nations and on toward unification. Otherwise, we may slip back into an abyss of chaos, poverty and regression. The outcome will depend entirely on our choices and actions during the coming year.

In that sense, the year ahead will not be a short period for the Korean people, including me as the President. This does not mean, however, that we will be able to afford to idle away even a few minutes. The new year will be a priceless 12-month period destined to determine the nation's long-range future course.



At this critical juncture, I ask all my fellow citizens, first of all, to join me in reaffirming our national ideal of liberal democracy and in renewing our resolve to champion it. It is not necessary to reiterate that the supreme national goal that we are pursuing today is to uphold the ideals of liberal democracy and develop and safeguard liberal democratic institutions and practices in all fields-political, economic, civic and cultural. Creating an advanced country on the strength of the vitality inherent in liberal democracy and achieving peaceful unification are the joint responsibility and historic mission imposed on all of us who are living in this age.

Looking back, we can see that liberal democracy was adopted as a lofty ideal at the founding of the Republic. Yet, it has failed to take firm root in Korean soil because of protracted one-man rule maintained by unreasonable means and the consequent strife and mistrust. Immature social and economic conditions, characterized by poverty and stagnation, have also contributed to the failure.

Still, it can be said that despite a long series of trials and errors, as well as repeated ups and downs, we have been steadily preparing, over the four decades since the founding of the Republic, the soil for the flowering of liberal democracy. During the last half of the 40s and throughout the 50s, faith in democracy, along with unwavering anti-communism, became ingrained in the Korean public. We fought the menace of communism, which culminated in the Korean War triggered by the invasion from the North in June 1950, and we persisted even after the War. In the 60s and the 70s, our efforts to modernize the nation and develop the economy contributed to securing the socio-economic basis to sustain a free and democratic society.

The Fifth Republic, which was inaugurated at the turn of the 80s, derived its motive power from a strong determination to put the ideals of liberal democracy into practice on the strength of painful reflections on the nation's tortuous history of constitutional government. We have endeavored to accept liberal democracy as the philosophy behind overall national development, and we have sought to put democratic institutions and policies into practice rather than using democracy as a mere political slogan or considering it a concern of a single segment of society.





Accordingly, an institutional device to fundamentally block prolonged personal rule-the decisive impediment to democratic development-and to ensure a peaceful change of Government has been built into the Constitution. At the same time, intensive efforts have been made to promote individual initiative and openness as a means of implanting the ideals of democracy throughout society.

As you know well, shifting from control and restrictiveness to individual initiative and openness, from conformity to diversity, from centralization to decentralization and from Government-led development to privately-led development is not only the quickest way to ensure the progress of a democratic nation and the happiness of individual citizens, but also the direction being followed by progressive advanced countries and a general trend gaining force around the world.

The Government of the Fifth Republic coolheadedly examined the spirit and current of the times and began to boldly apply the principles of individual initiative, openness and harmony. Government intervention and regulation have been reduced in all spheres of national and civic life. Steady efforts have been made to promote fair competition and free choice. In these ways, the Government has been taking the lead in effecting reforms designed to internalize liberal democracy.

It should be concluded that basically because the capabilities of the Korean people have been newly demonstrated owing to the merits of individual initiative and openness, we have been able to achieve over the past six years, despite adverse circumstances and the negative attitudes of some segments of society, the results that we see around us today. Thereby, our ability to leap into the forefront of development is reinforced. Such a strategy of free and democratic development is instilling new vitality into our economy and society, propelling the nation toward the ranks of the advanced countries. This is key to ensuring our victory in competition with North Korea and to opening the door to peaceful unification.

When we successfully stage the Seoul Olympics next year, while solidly developing democratic institutions and meeting the onrushing internal and external challenges, we will have taken a major step toward firmly establishing a liberal democratic system on the domestic front, while rising on the international front into the ranks of the developed countries.

To accomplish such national tasks, it is imperative for us to clearly grasp and translate into action the new spirit of this age which calls for stability, security, democracy and progress. If all of us are united in this spirit of the age and work hard together, we will be able to carry out next year - the 40th anniversary of the Republic of Korea - the colossal task of giving birth to a great, advanced, democratic nation, an achievement that will make us truly proud. This can in fact be regarded as the second founding of the Republic.

My fellow citizens,

When we squarely face the current age's historic task of opening a new era of liberal democracy, I believe the major thrust of national Administration during the new year will become self-evident. That will be to ensure the smooth implementation of a political agenda designed to bring about the first peaceful change of Government in the constitutional history of the Republic.

I have repeatedly expressed my conviction that for me to abide by the provisions for a single-term Presidency and thus to set a precedent of a peaceful transition of power will be the best way to consolidate the framework for democratic development. Such a determination remains unchanged.

As I have repeatedly emphasized, I will not remain in office one day less or more than my prescribed tenure. Upon completion of my term of office, I will turn over the reins of Government and will leave the Presidential office and residence. If I have any personal desire, it is to be recognized by my fellow countrymen as the former President and as the one who firmly planted a democratic system in Korean soil for the first time and is recorded as such in history. My ardent hope is that, on the strength of the example I will set, an illustrious democratic tradition will be established in this land.

Probably nobody is ignorant of the fact that a peaceful transition of Government means that the reins of Government will be transferred in a completely peaceful atmosphere free of confusion and anxiety, without national security being disrupted. Accordingly, I will now lead the Administration with conviction and vigor, as if my Presidency were just beginning, with the goals of preventing the vicious cycle of chaos and of laying the groundwork for the evolution of a genuine democratic tradition.



In response to the dictates of the times and the wishes of the people, my Administration will steadfastly maintain the movement toward greater individual initiative and openness under conditions of stability. The basic characteristic of an advanced democratic society lies in the ensuring of self-determination and open competition in all spheres of human activity.

History teaches us, however, that only when freedom and openness are accompanied by a matching sense of responsibility entailing increasing efficiency can they turn a society into a developed one. By the same token when freedom and openness simply degenerate into chaos and disorder, society is bound to fall backward.

At this point, I must emphasize once again the importance of law and order to the maintenance and development of a stable democratic society. Social discipline and a national legal order must be rigorously established so that citizens can live safely in the knowledge that the law can be trusted. A law-abiding spirit and a sense of civic responsibility are growing increasingly more crucial: national and private assets that must be protected and nurtured have increased immensely due to economic and social development; and, increasingly diverse interests have surfaced in all fields and all social strata.

In other words, the increasing diversification of our society demands mature democratic politics, capable of adjusting and resolving conflicting interests and friction. Modern democracy is of necessity maintained through representative government, which, in turn, is predicated on the operation of political parties. Thus, the presence of sound, modern political parties is indispensable to the development of representative government and accordingly, of liberal democracy.

Democracy makes headway when political parties led by qualified politicians are sufficiently competent and determined to properly represent the wishes and demands of the public, to adjust the diverse interests of all sections of society and to advance national interests and public welfare. Now that the Administration itself is doing everything in its power to promote democratic development, I believe that politicians and political parties hoping to take over the next Administration ought to devote themselves, first of all, to winning public support and trust. If they hope to lead a Government befitting the times, they should present to the public their ideas of statecraft as well as their policies for national development and engage in bona fide competition on the basis of such ideas and policies.



I earnestly hope that such competition will be ever more vigorously waged. The entire people demand that politics in our country make progress matching the development already achieved in the economic, social and other fields.

For democratic politics to prevail, it is of course important to develop a proper system and institutions. Even more important, however, the nations's political culture, especially the behavioral patterns of politicians, must be democratized.

If the politicians abandon the normal political process and take to the streets or persist in creating chaos through extreme confrontation, they would be obstructing the evolution of a tradition of peaceful changes of Government. Such acts only betray the trust of sensible citizens. Democracy can grow only in a climate of harmony and moderation, not in one of strife and extremism.

In the National Assembly, the citadel of democracy, the principle of majority decision, which is central to parliamentarism, must be abided by, while minority views must at least be respected. In that way, a rational climate conducive to discussion and compromise, rather than illegalities and physical confrontation, ought to take hold in the Assembly. In the absence of such a healthy political climate, no citizen will believe that democracy will become a reality when any specific system is put into operation.

Since the founding of a democratic Republic in 1984, we have amended the Constitution many times, experimenting with various forms of Government. Yet, the controversy over the existing political system has persisted, leading to a serious split in public opinion. The immediate cause of this was the repeated moves to prolong one specific individual's hold on power at any cost.

Another major factor contributing to the grim state of affairs has been the fact that in seeking democratic development, efforts have been focused only on altering the political system. I believe, however, that no less important than the alteration of the system is an attitudinal reform toward democratic ways of thinking.

Now that we are entering a period of major historic transition during which the Republic's first peaceful change of Government is going to take place, the undemocratic malfeasance of the old era must not be repeated.



At the same time, it must be realized that a climate should not be created in which even pro-communists intent on destroying liberal democracy find it easy to disguise themselves as democrats by hoisting a false banner of democracy, thus to forge links with other more moderate groups. This would certainly present a very grave challenge to the preservation and promotion of liberal democracy. In that context, and as the President responsible for the survival of our citizens and the defense of the nation and its democratic values, I will exert all my constitutional powers to resolutely oppose any subversives who betray the national ideals, who sympathize with the policies of North Korea and who repudiate the basic democratic order.

My fellow countrymen,

I think you are aware that in order to promote democratic development, I have always endeavored, with self-restraint and patience, to move the political situation in the right direction. Although from the beginning I believed that Constitutional reform was not a panacea, it is precisely because of such an earnest desire that I met with the leaders of the three major political parties last year. Then, I stated that I would not oppose amending the Constitution during my tenure if the Government Party and the Opposition could agree on a version better than the current law. Thus, the way to Constitutional reform by consensus was opened.

Following that, an Ad Hoc Committee on Constitutional Reform was established at the National Assembly to serve as the forum for negotiations over the matter. Together with the general public, I am truly chagrined and saddened by the fact that although it is already half a year since the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee, few substantive discussions have been conducted with practically no progress made toward forging a consensus.

Both the Government Party and the Opposition must approach the problem with a new frame of mind if the precious opportunity to make mature democratic politics this regard, I consider it fortunate for the cause of Constitutional reform by consensus - so much desired by the public - that the political parties have now begun a renewed quest for dialogue to promote democratic development.

To ensure that our political agenda can be smoothly carried out, I earnestly implore all politicians to discard personal ambition and to conduct constructive discussions with patience and self-restraint, and with the intent of working out realistic plans to amend the Constitution. In that way, the Constitutional issue should be resolved in the National Assembly as soon as possible.

Both the Government Party and the Opposition should exert their best efforts to forge a consensus. They must avoid creating an indefinitely continuing impasse which would give me no other choice as the Chief Executive but to make the grave decisions necessary to ensure the smooth implementation of the political timetable. Under any circumstance, the incitement to violent and unlawful activities outside the normal political process in disregard of Constitutional and legal procedures will be sternly condemned by the public as an obstruction of genuine political development.

A democratic society is one governed by reason, not emotion. There is no issue that cannot be resolved through reasoned dialogue and a spirit of compromise. I think Constitutional reform by consensus is not an impossibility if all politicians abide by that spirit and make greater efforts to prepare blueprints for the long-range future of the nation.

Furthermore, we are faced with numerous tough issues that must be resolved within this year through agreement between the Government Party and the Opposition. For example, the Administration has been steadfastly making preparations to initiate local autonomy. However, the completion of the task also requires final agreement between the Government Party and the Opposition. I am convinced that if we steadily create a free and harmonious atmosphere throughout the nation and implement local autonomy, we will be able to turn 1987 into a rewarding year of democratic progress.



My fellow countrymen,

A major requisite for a thriving liberal democracy is a solid material base and a free and fair economic environment enabling all citizens to live a dignified, free and affluent life. Since I assumed the Presidency, the emphasis in national Administration has been on economic stability and growth, on the strength of individual initiative, openness and competition, because it has been my belief that this is the best way to ensure that all citizens lead a free and economically prosperous life. The last six years, I think, have been a significant period during which such a development strategy has been harmoniously combined with the devoted efforts of the citizenry to achieve solid economic successes, thereby contributing greatly to developing a liberal democratic system.

As you know well, we started out six years ago burdened with a negative economic legacy characterized by chronic and persistent inflation, a fragile industrial structure, heavy foreign indebtedness, and financial favoritism. Nonetheless, today inflation has been arrested and the economy has gained so much vitality that Korea is now consistently attaining one of the world's highest rates of growth. Moreover, the nation has been able to move into a full-fledged era of international surpluses. The Republic of Korea is expected to soon translate into reality the dream of becoming a creditor nation. Moreover, thanks to sustained price stability and rapid economic growth in the past several years, the Korean economy, which ranked about 30th in size in the world, has now moved up to the 20th place. Our GNP is about to reach \$100 billion. In addition, Korea has now become the world's 12th largest trading nation. No less important, we have now acquired the capabilities to progressively put into operation various welfare policies. These were far beyond our reach in the past due to wild inflation and limited economic resources.

We have also successfully taken bold steps to end such negative characteristics of the 60s and 70s, as rampant speculation in real estate, commodities and other physical assets. We have eliminated the system of economic management that gave favor and preferential treatment to selected businesses. At the same time, unwarranted Government regulations and controls that were hindering business initiative and creativity have been decreasing at an ever higher rate, new businesses based on new ideas have been mushrooming, and new products have been reaching the market in an ever expanding stream. In that way, the growth potential of the nation's economy is being developed ever more effectively.

I am convinced that the Korean economy has now taken a new path along which stability and growth can be sustained on a higher level. Accordingly, the task now facing us is to flexibly cope with rapid changes in the world economic environment, while strengthening and improving the vulnerable sectors of our economy.

The Government thus intends to carry out economic policies especially emphasizing the following areas during 1987 - the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Economic and Social Development Plan. First, efforts will be stepped up to improve the quality of export products and enhance their reputation on the international market so that the nation's external trade can continue to expand and become more profitable. The remaining weak spots in our industrial and trade structure will be reinforced so that trade will not be adversely affected by changes in the external environment. In that way, the Republic of Korea should develop into an all-weather trading nation.

If we now properly harness our national capabilities that have been built over the recent past, we will soon be able to produce and export all sorts of products of international excellence. Likewise, we will also soon be able to rapidly reduce our dependence on imports for such high-value products as industrial materials, components and machinery. I take this occasion to ask all our businessmen, workers and consumers to take the initiative in striving to achieve the extraordinary growth and development of our industrial capabilities during this year.

To attain the external trade goals outlined above, it is essential to more effectively foster small and medium enterprises. Over the past six years, both the Government and the business community have made unsparing efforts to that end. In the new year, the Government intends to further improve its past policies for promoting small and medium businesses with the aim of attaining much more tangible results.

Second, the Administration will continue to concentrate on promoting science and technology and also on training large numbers of blue-collar engineers and skilled workers. At the same time, efforts will be made to create a social atmosphere in which skilled blue-collar workers can find satisfaction and pride in their jobs. Our task is to build a society in which competence, rather than diplomas, is the main determinant of success and advancement. This can



be accomplished relatively easily by fully supporting our engineers and skilled workers and treating them fairly. Accordingly, the Government this year will continue to develop effective means to enable competent engineers and other skilled workers to realize the Korean dream by pursuing careers on factory floors and at other production and construction sites. This will also help promote programs to develop a large pool of such workers.

Third, my administration will actively press ahead with public welfare measures commensurate with the nation's expanding economic capabilities. The goals are to enable the majority of our citizens to advance into the middle class - the mainstay of any free, democratic society. Also, we aim to provide active assistance to those segments of society who have least profited from economic growth.

Since the advent of the Fifth Republic, the Government has successfully sought to end the vicious cycle of the rich getting richer and the poor poorer by expanding employment opportunities through accelerated economic growth, by arresting chronic inflation, and by eradicating financial favoritism. Efforts have also been made to fulfill the basic needs of low-income people for education, medical services and housing. Through these measures, the foundation of public well-being has been steadily and solidly built.

Consequently, it will become possible next year to extend medical insurance to all citizens - the most difficult issue in the past in meeting the basic requirements for public welfare. Also next year, a national pension fund and a minimum wage system will be introduced.

This year, the measures I have just mentioned, which are basically intended to improve the living standard, with special emphasis on helping farmers, fishermen and wage earners, will be effectively implemented. Our goal is to accelerate the building of a society capable of ensuring the well-being of all. In particular, housing programs will be more vigorously promoted in order to diminish the inconveniences and difficulties of those families who do not own their own homes. Measures to assist the poor will be expanded and improved so that they can participate more actively in economic development and better benefit from growth.

Fourth, energies will be focused on promoting the balanced growth of all regions of the country and on making the best use of national land resources. Toward that end, steps will be taken in industrially less-developed areas to develop industries suited to the geographic and other characteristics of the areas. Additional concrete measures will also be implemented to achieve an optimum distribution and the balanced development of industries throughout the country.

The recently announced policies to comprehensively develop rural areas will be meticulously carried out. The goal is to elevate the income levels and living conditions in farming and fishing communities to reach those levels obtaining in cities by the end of the present century. The measures include more vigorous development of forest land and marine resources.

In that way, I am confident that in the not distant future, our rural villages will develop into mini-cities with all modern conveniences and amenities. Today's small and medium-size cities will be transformed into full-fledged industrial and cultural centers. I am confident that the provinces will thus become as prosperous and vibrant as the large cities.

Fellow citizens,

Since I became President, I have been working with determination and willingness to prepare the ground for our leap forward, rather than trying to leave behind any dazzling achievements. So I have come to the acute realization that there are many things that cannot be accomplished overnight. Moreover, in a liberal democratic country, the Government cannot and must not do everything. Accordingly, I want to say that private-sector activities must become even more brisk. For example, the Educational Reform Study Commission, operating under the direct jurisdiction of the President to map plans to upgrade the nation's education system, has recently proposed a plan for improving the college entrance examination system. It is continuing its intensive study to perfect the plan. But it is exceedingly difficult to come up with a plan that will satisfy all parents.

Education is the crucial means of turning young people into competent citizens capable of shouldering the nation's future. Furthermore, the people have a right to receive education since it is essential to a decent life. Liberal democracy implies equal opportunities, and equal educational opportunities are central to that ideal.



THE  
OFFICE OF THE  
ATTORNEY GENERAL  
STATE OF NEW YORK  
ALBANY

IN SENATE,  
January 10, 1906.  
REPORT  
OF THE  
ATTORNEY GENERAL,  
JAMES C. CLARK,  
FOR THE YEAR  
1905.

ALBANY:  
JAMES C. CLARK,  
ATTORNEY GENERAL,  
1906.

Accordingly, the Government will continue efforts to extend equal educational opportunities. At the same time, I would like to ask schools, educators and parents to actively cooperate with the Government in educational efforts to convince students of the superior values of liberal democracy; we must ensure that they will not be contaminated by wrong ideologies.

Today's young people are the stars who will lead a developed Korean nation in the coming century. Hence, it is the responsibility of the older generations to foster their youthful ideals and aspirations and to encourage their free and creative thinking and activities. Yet, I am worried by the fact that these days, some students, though very small in number, are openly advocating dangerous, radical pro-communist ideologies, and trying to destroy the liberal democratic system by violence. Although everyone should do his best to properly guide students still in their learning years with parental concern, we have no choice but to apply stern legal action against those students who are found to be beyond reform, if we are to safeguard our democratic system. We can no longer tolerate the use of schools as fountainheads of leftist and pro-communist ideologies and as hotbeds of radical violence. Since the masters of the schools are the educators, the students and the parents, I ardently hope that they will work with a renewed conviction and in concert with citizens from all walks of life to nurture our schools into genuine institutions of learning which will train the democratic and responsible citizens of the future.

In national administration, I have placed special emphasis on promoting culture and the arts with an awareness that they are the major yardstick of the over all level of development of the nation. Culture and the arts are society's topsoil, nourishing all fields so that they can grow and mature. Only when the cultural roots are healthy and vigorous can society make sound progress, without falling into stagnation and decadence. It is because we have an eminent cultural heritage and traditions serving as an excellent moral mainstay that we have now achieved our current level of development, which is attracting increasing world attention. We must continue to broaden and reinforce the moral and cultural foundations of a free and democratic society by enhancing a social atmosphere in which harmony within diversity, individuality and creativity are valued. Moreover, now that we live in an age of increasing internationalization, even more intensive efforts should be exerted to make Korean culture universally appealing, while preserving and enhancing its uniqueness and originality. With a self-esteem and pride befitting a people about to host the Olympics, all Korean citizens must be involved in creating an advanced cultural nation.



My fellow countrymen,

It is my belief that our goal of building an advanced democratic nation within the 20th century is one that can be fully attained only when national unification is achieved. Territorial division is an unbearable pain for a single ethnic family. The territorial partitioning is the source of a constant threat of a war that would completely demolish us and our prosperity. The division is a heavy yoke that forces us to waste national energies and thus throttles the engine of national development. The task of breaking the fetters of division and thus accomplishing unification will be a major test of our national capabilities. I feel that, now that division has continued for 40 long years, not a few have been thinking that unification is actually a distant goal that is difficult to attain, especially because we have to work toward it without outside help. However, as the growth of our national capabilities has accelerated on the strength of a liberal democratic system, we have been steadfastly grappling with that paramount task. Upon its birth, the Fifth Republic refused to regard unification as a remote dream and adopted it as a realistic national goal. We have thus been stepping up independent endeavors toward that objective. As a result, the nation's advancement toward unification has reached a new plateau along the fast track into the forefront of development, onto which we have been lifted by the impetus provided by the awarding of the '88 Olympics to Seoul.

Under any circumstance, that long-cherished national goal must be reached through peace and reconciliation, rather than through violence and war. Even while gripped by anger and sorrow over the terrorist bombing in Rangoon, I consistently adhered to the principle of peace and dialogue. This was because of a single-minded determination to pry open the door to reconciliation and unification. Yet, North Korea continues to turn a blind eye to our determination to seek dialogue with the intent of establishing peace by reducing tensions and promoting exchanges, eventually leading to national reintegration. Moreover, flouting every international law and practice requiring nations, even of different ethnic origins, to consult each other about the development and use of common rivers and to respect the interests of all riparian countries, they have started building the Kungangsan Hydro-electric Dam out of an idle dream of communizing the whole peninsula by force: The Dam is designed to deluge the most populous and vital region of the Republic in total disregard of the well-being of their own compatriots. It can only be concluded that such an attitude on the part of North Korea increases the mistrust and tension between the two halves of the country, hindering the cause of national reconciliation and unification.

It is all too evident that all issues between South and North Korea must be resolved peacefully through dialogue based on the principle of self-determination of peoples. In view of that, North Korea must, first of all, cease the construction of the Kumgangsan Dam and agree to discuss the joint development of common rivers in compliance with relevant international laws and practices. If the Kumgangsan Dam was being built for purely economic reasons as Pyongyang claims, I think North Korea would not see any reason to eschew such a dialogue or to refuse to allow our experts to inspect the Dam construction site. If North Korea comes forward to the conference table to solve this question, this would be a tangible step toward easing tension on the Korean peninsula and restoring trust between the South and the North.

The most important thing, however, is to steadfastly continue the dialogue and improve inter-Korean relations. In this regard, the suspended channels of dialogue, especially the South-North Red Cross Conference and economic talks, must be reopened as quickly as possible.

I hope also that a South-North summit meeting will take place during my term of office to achieve a breakthrough toward peace, reconciliation and unification. Once again, I urge North Korea to accept these proposals. If the top leaders of the South and the North do meet, we could resolve a full spectrum of fundamental issues, ranging from the basic approaches to unification that I have already proposed to practical measures to ease tension. In this spirit, we could discuss frankly and candidly all inter-Korean issues, including the recent North Korean proposal to hold political and military talks.

Fellow citizens,

To safeguard and develop our free and democratic system, it is imperative to make even greater efforts to ensure national security and stability without fail. We need not fear any threat of challenge as long as we unite our strength to prepare against it. One vivid example of this is the public response with one spirit and a united determination to the recent campaign to raise funds for the construction of the Peace Dam.



THE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535  
MAY 19 1988  
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK  
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

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When I visited our armed forces units in both the frontline and rear areas, I was heartened and reassured to find our defense is as invincible as it can be owing to the unwavering resolve of the Korean public to preserve national security. As for our defense capabilities and combat readiness, I ask my fellow citizens to fully trust our armed forces and their Commander-in-Chief, and to endeavor even more energetically to reinforce social stability and coherence so that North Korea will not make miscalculations and misjudgments.

The period during which the danger of a North Korean provocation will reach its peak will be the two years of 1987 and 1988 - a politically crucial period. Accordingly, if internal confusion develops in the Republic, there is a great possibility that North Korea, counting on its numerical military superiority alone, will seize that as an opportunity to perpetrate acts of provocation against us to obstruct the Seoul Olympics. Moreover, the international environment surrounding the Korean peninsula is fraught with mounting uncertainties and tension as an expansionist power reinforces its presence in the Asia-Pacific region in parallel with the intensification of North Korean adventurism.

We must, therefore, keep a very close eye on them. We must further reinforce our own unity, while at the same time wisely coping with North Korea's military moves by promptly and correctly grasping their significance, so that we will be able to make the Seoul Olympics the most successful in the history of the modern Olympics.

It is the common desire of the global village that the Olympics be a veritable festival of peace and harmony of the human race transcending political interests and ideological differences. The Seoul Olympics has special significance since it must symbolize a big step forward toward firmly establishing such an Olympic tradition. It is in response to such a universal wish that all peace-loving countries of the world have already begun to signal their willingness to actively support and participate in the Seoul Olympics. North Korea's attempts to obstruct the festival of peace are not supported by any country and are only isolating it internationally. Therefore, no matter how tenacious Pyongyang's obstructionist attempts and threat of provocation may be, I am confident our firm sense of unity and capabilities will ensure the success of the Seoul Olympics without fail. We now have sufficient resources to attain that goal.



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Furthermore, all other peace-loving nations unflaggingly support and encourage our Olympic efforts. In that context, the Seoul Olympics also promises great progress in diplomacy. Through multifaceted diplomatic efforts, including my own summit diplomacy, we have already cultivated even warmer and closer relations with the United States, Japan and other free and democratic Western nations. Moreover, we can now expect that, by virtue of the '88 Olympics, new relations will be established with the communist bloc, in spite of ideological differences, while our ties with third world countries will be cemented further.

As proved in those countries which have successfully staged the Olympics, it is much more than an athletic event: It provides a powerful impetus to national vitality, propelling the host country into the forefront of development. The Seoul Olympics will certainly provide an impetus for the successful accomplishment of a peaceful change of Government and also for perfecting a great free and democratic nation. The mere fact that we are going to host the Olympics - a festival of global peace - for the first time in our history is a dramatic and heartening development that greatly enhances the reputation of the Korean people and the prestige of the Republic in the eyes of the entire world.

We must make sure that the Seoul Olympics will completely transform the still-lingering international image of Korea as a shabby, divided land ravaged by war and confrontation, while the basis for national harmony is further broadened and dramatic progress achieved in all aspects of national life.

I can say with confidence that during the 90s, when the urgent tasks of political development and of hosting the '88 Olympics will have been successfully accomplished, inter-Korean relations will undergo drastic changes, bringing the nation the good fortune of unification.

My fellow countrymen,

Once again, I want to emphasize that we have now arrived at a fork in the road. One branch leads to a glorious future featuring mature liberal democracy and a unified, advanced nation. The other leads in a completely opposite direction, to an unhappy future marked by underdevelopment and stagnation. Here, it must also be emphasized that it is entirely up to us and nobody else to choose which of the two roads to travel.



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If our political leaders do not see the new and promising horizon beckoning to the nation and continue to be engrossed in chronic divisiveness and confrontation, our nation will skid backwards down an ignominious path to the sidelines of world history. We must not skid into backwardness and underdevelopment. In 1948, three years after national liberation, the Republic of Korea was founded with bloodshed caused by the savage clashes between the leftist and the rightist camps. Since the Korean First Republic was thus born, our parents and brothers and sisters have devoted their every effort to building a springboard from which the nation can take a magnificent leap forward. In doing so, they have triumphed over all manner of hardship and adversity. That precious legacy must not be destroyed now through thoughtless actions, thereby thwarting the mightily rising national fortunes.

My fellow countrymen,

While carrying out my momentous duties over the past six years, I have come to have an almost religious faith in the great intrinsic capabilities of the Korean people. If we properly harness those capabilities to continue our progress forward, our vision of a bright future will not fail to become a reality.

Over the past six years, I have shared with you innumerable joys and heartaches. I deeply regret that in some areas of national administration, my assigned tasks have not yet been fully accomplished due to my limited ability or unfavorable circumstances or both. On the other hand, however, I want to express my utmost gratitude to my fellow citizens for having understood my real intentions and for their wholehearted cooperation and encouragement. Above all else, I am now determined to repay your support and crown my tenure by erecting together with you a major milestone on the course of the democratic development that we have been so assiduously promoting since the launching of the Fifth Republic. That milestone is a peaceful change of Government.

To accomplish that momentous historic mission, I will tackle national administration with even greater courage and conviction. During the remainder of my term of office, I will even more meticulously exercise the powers vested in the Presidency and will be even more faithful to the responsibilities of my office. In that way, I will do my best until my last day in office to be a President who has generated a public sense of security and confidence, who is worthy of public trust and support, and who will be able to enjoy the blessings of retirement.



able body of work  
in this country  
and I am sure  
that you will  
be able to find  
the same in  
the other countries  
of the world.

I trust that my fellow countrymen will unstintedly support and encourage my ardent desire to open a new horizon for the development of democracy in this land and that you will continue to inspire me with courage and conviction to accomplish that goal to which, if necessary, I will even sacrifice my personal well-being.

At the same time, I ask you to actively participate in the journey along the newly unfolding avenue toward ever greater democratic development and to courageously advise and guide those who are still captive of antiquated notions and might try to obstruct the journey. That is the unavoidable duty of every citizen who lives in this period during which a fully mature and truly sound, free and democratic Republic must be built.

We are now gradually approaching an age of the great Korean people with the promise of ever more forceful national progress. I join my fellow citizens in fervently praying that even if we may run into tribulations in the days ahead, they will be only the birth pangs of a more prosperous and affluent country and a more noble Korean people.

It is my expectation that on the strength of such an ardent desire, a great triumph of liberal democracy will be achieved shortly, opening a magnificent avenue leading to unification during the 1990s.

In concluding, I pray from the bottom of my heart that all of you and your homes will always be blessed with good health and the best of luck.

Thank you.



4361

תאריך : 09.87 משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

נכנס

בדואר

קודם: 9,4361

אל: המשרד

מ: טוקיו, נר: 69, תא: 070987, דח: 1700, דח: 1, ט: 20, ב

ב: 2

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בלחם/בהרל לא להזעיק

אל: תא

מאת: השגריר, טוקיו

לשלכם 81

קריס שה'ח קוריאה.

# CURRICULUM VITAE

CHOI, KWANG SOO

BORN : 1935

## EDUCATION:

MARCH 1957 : FACULTIES OF LAW, SEOUL NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

AUG. 1958 -

JUNE 1959 : STUDIED AT SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, U.S.A.

## CAREER:

OCT. 1956: JOINED MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

JULY 1957: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, ASIA DIVISION, POLITICAL BUREAU, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FEBU1961: PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN

AFFAIRS APR. 1962: SECOND SECRETARY, KOREAN DIPLOMATIC

MISSION TO JAPAN JAN. 1963: DIRECTOR, NORTHEAST

מסמך מס' 1062/2 תאריך: 2/8 קליק

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ASIA DIVISION, ASIA BUREAU, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OCT. 1967: COUNSELLOR, KOREAN EMBASSY,  
U.S.A. FEB. 1970: DIRECTOR- GENERAL FOR TRADE PROMOTION  
/ MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
FEB. 1971: DIRECTOR- GENERAL, ASIA BUREAU, MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JAN. 1972: ASSISTANT MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE  
FOR LOGISTICS AND DEFENSE INDUSTRIES  
OCT. 1973: VICE -MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE  
DEC. 1979: SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE PRESIDENT  
(WITH CABINET MINISTER'S RANK)  
SEPT. 1980: FIRST MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO  
MAR. 1981: MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS  
JAN. 1983: AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENI- POTENTIAR  
Y TO THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA  
NOV. 1985: AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENI- POTENTIAR  
Y TO THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW- YORK  
AUG. 1986: MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

כיום: כיהן בתפקידים הבאים: סגן שר ההגנה, מזכ"ל הנשיאות,  
שר החברה, שגריר בטורקיה ושגריר (משקיף) ליו האו"ם.

יעקב כהנא==

תא: שהח, מנכ"ל, מריחור, אסיה